THE BIG BANG a short story by THOMAS BELL

THE Nation

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GENEVA'S PRICE FOR PEACE

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by Carey McWilliams

WISCONSIN DOUBLE-TAKE

by Miles McMillin

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Chicago Fiddles *Robert Gruenberg*

The South Swings Liberal *W. G. Carleton*

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Around the U. S. A.

Freedom Under Fifield

Los Angeles

THE man who may be the next political boss of Los Angeles is not coarse, paunchy, or addicted to smoking fat cigars. He is a tall, white-haired Congregational minister with a gift for impassioned oratory and a look of virtue that would shame a saint.

Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., pastor of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, has long been an influential exponent of reactionary legislation, isolationism, and antiquated laissez faire economics. From behind the façade of two prosperous organizations—Spiritual Mobilization and Freedom Clubs—he directs one of the most powerful neo-fascist movements in America. His "God-inspired" crusade against the "enemies of freedom"—a catch-all term for New Dealers, Socialists, Communists, and One Worlders—is carried weekly by more than six hundred radio stations and by Los Angeles' largest television station. It presents such practiced reactionaries as Alfred Kohlberg, Fulton Lewis, and Vivien Kellems in wide-eyed attempts to sell America something called "freedom under God."

Now fifty-one years old, Fifield was born in a Chicago parsonage, the son of a well-known clergyman. At thirty-five he was a dynamic young minister in Grand Rapids, Michigan, whence he was lured to Los Angeles by a committee of the First Congregational Church seeking a resourceful paster. In five years Fifield raised the membership from 1,500 to 4,500, making it the largest Congregational church in the world, instituted "the most comprehensive church program in America," and paid off a debt of $750,000.

Before coming here Fifield had founded Spiritual Mobilization, a movement designed to "arouse the ministers of all denominations in America to check the trends toward pagan statism which would destroy our basic freedom and spiritual ideals." "Pagan statism," it appeared, was Fifield's term for nearly all the social and political advances achieved by the New Deal. Spiritual Mobilization's board of directors has included, besides more admirable citizens, Upton Close, Norman Vincent Peale, and Rupert Hughes, all associated with reactionary movements. Contributions to the organization have been received from such leaders of giant business as J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil, E. T. Weir of National Steel, Charles M. White of Republic Steel, Frank Drake of Gulf Oil, and B. E. Hutchinson of the Chrysler Corporation. In the light of that knowledge the Fifield sermons on free enterprise and laissez faire take on a new significance.

Fifield attracted national attention last year during the controversy over the use by the Los Angeles public schools of material prepared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Speaking over his nation-wide hook-up, Fifield denounced "pagan, anti-God UNESCO" and sounded the cry for an all-out war on it. Soon it became apparent that his objections were not to UNESCO alone but to the U. N. as a whole. Backed by reactionary pressure groups, among which were the Liberty Belles, the D. A. R., the American Legion, and the Christian Nationalists, the Fifield following finally forced the Los Angeles School Board to dismantle the entire United Nations instruction program in the schools.

FREEDOM CLUBS, Inc., the latest of Fifield's "libertarian" enterprises, is infiltrating college campuses. The trend toward a "welfare-state orthodoxy" among teachers and the growth of "left-wing" student organizations appear to be giving Fifield great concern. "It is hoped," the *Freedom Club News* explains, "that Freedom Clubs will give the students an opportunity to explore the libertarian idea and to compare the collectivist doctrines being propagated in many classrooms with the revolutionary concept of Individual Liberty and Freedom Under God." What began as a Southern California movement has expanded until there are now Freedom Clubs operating as far east as Chicago. Their influence is large enough to rate contributions from Alfred Kohlberg, head of the China Lobby, which has Fifield's blessings, and Benjamin Fairless, chairman of the board of United States Steel.

But Dr. Fifield's greatest strides toward personal power have been taken in the Los Angeles area itself. Dr. Rufus B. von Kleinsmid, a member of the board of Spiritual Mobilization, heads the city Library Commission. A member of the governing board of Fifield Manor, the clergyman's most profitable "non-profit" enterprise, is on the Police Commission. More important, Fifield's most influential parishioner, Norris Poulson, an adviser to Spiritual Mobilization, is mayor of Los Angeles.

So great is Fifield's influence at the City Hall that newspapermen now uneasily refer to him as the "sinister minister." While there have been no overt manifestations of his power, the number of "Fifield men" appointed to city jobs by Mayor Poulson is significant. This month Fifield came under attack by the *Southland Almanac,* publication of the Los Angeles Printing Trade Council, which labeled him the spokesman for "insidious elements" apparently bent on destroying "much of the basic democracy of America."

What is the social program of this man who seeks to save America? He sums it up himself in these words:

> First, we must see to it that no more socialistic laws are passed. We must stop the granting of special privileges to any group. . . . Our second step is to get rid of the socialistic laws we now have. This requires that we take away special privileges from groups who now have them. . . . The third step is decentralization of government. The federal government should retain only those powers which cannot be handled on the local level.

Whether Fifield will ever gain a position from which he can implement that philosophy is still open to speculation. At present he has a lot of influence at the top and strong grass-roots support. The combination could yet elevate him to a position of power.

JOHN THOMAS

[*John Thomas is a California free-lance writer.*]

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Hard-Pressed West

At Geneva the Communists are pushing their advantage, which has been increased rather than reduced by events since the fall of Dienbienphu, but they give no sign of intending to risk a break. On the contrary, they have been more reasonable than might have been expected. Molotov offered modifications in the Vietminh truce proposals which brought them somewhat closer to those suggested the day before by Eden and Bidault, and the Vietminh themselves agreed on several points strongly held by the Vietnam leaders—especially on the policy of no partition, a single army, and no political reprisals.

None of this suggests that a settlement is in early prospect or that the French can strike a good bargain. Meanwhile in a series of new conversations the French and the Americans are considering all over again, on the basis of fresh reports from the war area, on what conditions if at all the United States would be willing to intervene. Whether these talks will lead to still another shift in Washington's zigzag course, or whether they are merely intended to shore up the French position at Geneva is not clear. They have already served to irritate the British, who were not told of them in advance.

We find it hard to believe that the Administration will plump for intervention in this election summer, no matter what sort of deal is in the making on Indo-China. As the week began, the formal talks at Geneva went into secret sessions. There, perhaps, the various threads will be drawn together and the real trading begin.

More H-Bombs for Labor

The Administration's anti-union drive is only now getting into full swing. Elsewhere in this issue James Higgins points up the threat to organized labor posed even by an unrevised Taft-Hartley. Last week Attorney General Brownell disclosed two more of the Administration's anti-union trumps disguised as national-security measures. The first is a bill extending the government's present power to ban "subversives" from plants holding defense contracts to other establishments considered important to defense—electric utilities, mines, and so on. Thus a man's right to work in vast sections of industry—and the sections can be indefinitely extended if war hysteria mounts—becomes subject to the scrutiny of the witch hunters.

A second bill proposed by Brownell, entitled the Communist-Infiltrated Organizations Act, would outlaw any organization that is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by a "Communist-action organization or by a member or members thereof, and is in a position to affect adversely the national defense or security of the United States." The proposal is advertised as a security measure rather than a labor bill; its provisions, it is said, would apply equally to a business or industrial firm or to a trade union. But no one expects that the Subversive Activities Control Board, which under the bill is to determine the facts, would find the management of General Motors subversive. The Brownell proposal is simply a replica of what Laurent B. Frantz, writing in *The Nation* of November 28, 1953, called an "H-Bomb for Unions." It was then known as the Butler bill, and under it, as Frantz wrote, "no union could exist unless the Subversive Activities Control Board's subjective judgment on its political tendencies and reliability were favorable."

With a law like this the Administration would not need Taft-Hartley, with or without revisions, to smash any trade union in the country.

Low Bids and High Costs

On January 19 we noted in these columns that an English firm's bid on a power unit for McNary Dam had been turned down by Washington in favor of a higher General Electric bid. But Britain is not the only victim of the Administration's peculiar interpretation of its own "trade not aid" policy. Recently the Società Anonima di Ellettrificazione, a reputable Italian company which has built hangars for the United States navy, offered to supply steel towers for a South Dakota electrification project for $1,972,852. The American Bridge Division of United States Steel bid $2,626,913. American Bridge got the job—at an extra cost of nearly $750,000 to the American taxpayer.

The Italian government has taken up the matter through diplomatic channels and is getting nowhere. Privately Italian officials point out that the incident not only deprived Italy of needed dollars but, even more important, has provided leftists with another ready-made propaganda weapon. In the long run United States Steel's gain is likely to prove America's loss.

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Senator McCarthy's Sixth Column

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN THE wake of Senator McCarthy's disclosure that he has in his possession the digest of a secret F. B. I. report of the highest confidential, or restricted, classification, loud and angry quesions have been raised. To what extent is the government honeycombed with McCarthy's informers? How large is the private spy ring that reports to the Senator? Is there a sixth column in government that has come to recognize him as the prime executive authority?

The existence of such a network, regardless of its size, is hardly a secret. On the day following his famous Wheeling, West Virginia, speech on February 9, 1950, McCarthy said in a radio interview at Salt Lake City:

> . . . while I would like to take credit for digging up this information [his claim that fifty-seven Communists were to be found in the State Department] and exposing it, actually the House Un-American Activities Committee has done practically all this work. I have many other sources of information also, *some of them right within the State Department* [emphasis added]. I might say that there are some very fine men in the State Department. If there were not, I would not be able to have these names tonight.

McCarthy's Voice of America inquiry was based on a year's "underground work" by a group of disgruntled employees who referred to themselves as "the vigilantes." According to the New York *Journal-American,* this "underground cell" consisted of some seventy-five "patriotic employees" who had announced their willingness "to tell the F. B. I. or Congress that left-wingers and pro-reds had taken over many key jobs in the agency." On March 2, 1953, Drew Pearson reported that a proposed directive sent by the head of the Voice of America office in New York by direct teletype to the main office in Washington had actually reached McCarthy's staff before it was delivered to the addressee.

At about this time it was made quite clear that Senator McCarthy had gained access to information in the State Department security files on Charles E. Bohlen. On March 13 of this year Senator J. W. Fulbright called attention to the fact that McCarthy, in a debate with Senator Ellender, had made statements which clearly indicated that he had access to F. B. I. reports. In the current McCarthy-army hearings, McCarthy and Roy Cohn have asked the army to produce no fewer than eleven F. B. I. reports, giving exact dates and indicating an awareness of the contents in each instance. Since J. Edgar Hoover has steadily insisted—and as recently as May 11—that the F. B. I. does not disclose the contents

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of its files to unauthorized personnel, one must assume either that the material from these files has been made available to McCarthy improperly and perhaps illegally by informants in government or that former F. B. I. personnel who have joined his staff have been the bearers of special intelligence previously acquired.

More disturbing than McCarthy's admission that such a network exists is his refusal to name the "young officer" who passed to him the digest of "the purloined letter." The Senator contends—his position has been sustained by Mr. Jenkins and Senator Mundt—that he is under no obligation to name this informant. But the issue in this and similar situations has nothing to do with the practice, followed by some law-enforcement agencies, of encouraging informers in certain types of cases by refusing to disclose their identities. Senator McCarthy doubtless thinks of himself as a district attorney, but he is not a law-enforcement official. Nor is it a question of whether members of a Congressional committee are "authorized" persons, within the meaning of the law, and thus entitled to have access to classified material. In response to a question by Senator McClellan, McCarthy was not prepared to say that he had received the digest of the F. B. I. report in his capacity as chairman of the committee. Nor is this surprising. For the fact is that he had had possession of the digest for nearly a year without showing it to other members of the committee. Clearly he was holding it for a private purpose.

The immediate issue relates rather to the government's loyalty-security program, which was supposed to afford protection against secret networks of this sort in government. For as Walter Lippman has pointed out, the notion that men may break their oaths and violate the law secretly if it suits their private convictions is "the very principle of disloyalty." Stated another way, it is tantamount to substituting lawlessness for the processes and procedures defined by the Constitution.

HOW, then, has it happened that the loyalty-security program has tended to foster disloyal practices? For one thing, the loyalty-security program has encouraged government employees to believe that it is not only proper but highly commendable for them to bring confidential material to the attention of Congressional committees or the F. B. I. so long as it can be argued that the material or information has something to do with ridding the government of "subversives." For despite some initial reluctance, the Loyalty Review Board finally adopted the recommendation of Mr. Hoover and decided that the identity of confidential informants should not be disclosed. As a consequence, government employees have become so fearful of being falsely and even maliciously tagged as ""disloyal" or bad security risks that many of them have run to the Congressional committee to report on matters which, properly speaking, were none of their business, but which, in sheer self-protection, they wanted to report to someone. In the forest of suspicion that is Washington today the only certifiably reliable superior to whom such matters can be reported is the Congressional inquisitor, whose loyalty is taken for granted!

Thus it will not be easy to put a stop to private spy rings in government today. It is doubtful, for example, that McCarthy organized the network which reports to him or that he could, even if he wished, identify all his "sources." Consider the forgotten case of Miriam de Haas, a legal examiner for the Loyalty Review Board who resigned in November, 1952, after she had admitted sending confidential material to Senator McCarthy. Miss de Haas insisted that she had never met McCarthy and had volunteered the material "without request, pressure, or acknowledgment from anyone."

A FIRST step, in any case, toward ridding the government of secret networks would be to restore the morale of government employees. Not only do government workers live in fear that some personal mishap—the acquisition through marriage of the "wrong" kind of relatives or a martini too many, or a personal indiscretion of some sort—may involve them in security proceedings: they have now come to fear each other and, above all, to fear the anonymous accuser in their midst. This particular fear must be removed. Security hearings are not criminal proceedings, nor are they initiated by law-enforcement officials. There is no reason why a hearing board should not compel an accuser to face cross-examination. Nor is there any reason why Senator McCarthy should not be forced to disclose the name of the "young officer" who gave him the digest of Mr. Hoover's report to Major General Bolling. For as long as the present high degree of insecurity prevails among government employees, there will be those who will seek, so to speak, to take out insurance on their jobs by currying favor with the F. B. I. or the staff of some Congressional committee. To be an informant in Washington today is to prove that one is a good security risk.

Even when a government employee has acted in a grossly insubordinate manner, he has usually escaped punishment if his disclosures could somehow be related to "the Communist menace." For example, on July 15, 1948, Robert C. Alexander, assistant chief of the Visa Division of the State Department, told a Congressional committee that he had seen files or reports on several hundred cases of persons who used "the United Nations as a front or cover or a blind for carrying on subversive activities against this country." A committee of three distinguished private citizens, appointed by the then Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, found that the charges were without foundation and expressed themselves as "shocked by the manner in which these serious

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charges were made." Yet Alexander escaped with only a letter of reprimand.

But the main defense against the spread of spy rings in government is, of course, for the President to restore the executive function to its proper place in our constitutional system by resisting legislative encroachments upon it. To these encroachments, as Mr. Truman suggested the other day, it is the duty of the President to say firmly and flatly, "No, you can't do it." If the President understands and acts upon this principle, he can infuse division and department heads with a sense of confidence that will help them in turn to act in defense of the executive function. Even so, the division or department head cannot restore order in his own agency until the employees of that agency are made to feel reasonably secure in their jobs. What is needed is a restoration of confidence all along the line, from the top down and from the bottom up. Nor can the process be completed until the legislator is himself free of the fear of anonymous accusers and of dossiers that have not always remained secret.

In his press conference last week President Eisenhower made it clear that networks of the kind that now report to McCarthy will not be tolerated in the army. By the same token they should not be tolerated anywhere in government. But the President must act quickly, for networks of this sort have a tendency to spread. Already McCarthy's private spy ring, as his investigations disclose, functions in many branches of government and in several key industries and includes a circle of high-ranking army officers. It has been suggested, for example, that the digest of the F. B. I. report was turned over to the Senator by a major general in the air force who is reportedly a top man in his ring, or, as Whittaker Chambers would say, his "apparatus." Not long ago we called attention to an interesting comment by George Sokolsky, whose relationship to the McCarthy entourage is now a matter of public record, which appeared in the New York *Journal-American* on February 26: "Many army officers are prepared to talk and do talk privately when assured that they will not be exposed. Without the help of what has come to be known as 'the pro-American underground,' little data could be made available."

J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, in his fascinating study "The Nemesis of Power," has shown how in Germany the fear of Hitler's technique of slander and smear overcame men in government, in the army, and in industry who had thought they could make Hitler their creature. We cannot afford to permit their counterparts here to make the same miscalculation.

THE PRICE OF PEACE

At the Geneva Talks . . . *by Michel Gordey*

Geneva, May 17

FOR almost three weeks the Geneva conference has been going on mostly outside the official conference room. Secret meetings between two, three, four, or more foreign ministers have been taking place, several times a day, in elegant suburban villas. Up to now nothing has been achieved except the confirmation of the Korean deadlock and arrangements for the evacuation of wounded from Dienbienphu. The prospects for peace in Indo-China remain gloomy. The two leading figures have been Eden and Molotov. The two disappointments—if not failures—have been Dulles and Bidault. The "Fifth Man," Chou En-lai, who for the first time since the birth of Communist China plays a big role on the official international stage, has kept rather in the background, in spite of spectacular efforts by his Soviet colleague to push him forward.

Every day sleek black limousines, followed by sturdy gray Swiss police cars, dash into the courtyard of the old Palace of the League of Nations. The Soviet and Chinese Foreign Ministers run through the big door, under the protection of half a dozen bodyguards. The arrival of the American, French, and British delegations is less dramatic, but faces are stern. The only one who has bravely smiled and waved to the pretty typists of the U. N. looking on from their office windows has been Anthony Eden. Geneva is familiar ground to him. It was here, in the pre-war days, that he started his diplomatic pin-up-boy career. Now he rightly feels that he is one of the star performers. Without him, or without the British policy of "keeping in the middle," the Geneva conference might have been stillborn. One might add that the future of the Indo-China negotiations very much depends on him and on the steadfast course steered by the British Foreign Office.

It is premature to be disappointed with the conference. Nobody came here with optimism in his heart. So who can say that the conference is going less well than was expected? Most observers agree that it has not yet reached the stage of real, hard bargaining. It is clear that nothing will be achieved on Korea, but the Indo-China question is wide open for compromise—or stalemate.

MICHEL GORDEY, noted correspondent of France Soir *(Paris), is the author of "Visa to Moscow."*

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The first week in Geneva was called "Dulles failure week." The second week became "Dienbienphu loss week." The third will be known as the week when the Indo-China negotiation really started. At present the two plans—the Bidault plan and the plan presented by Ho Chi-minh's acting Foreign Minister, Pham Van Dong—seem to be very far apart. Both contain features totally unacceptable to the other side. The French plan, in the opinion of many observers, sounds as if the French troops in Indo-China were winning the war. Yet correspondents who have recently visited Indo-China report that the position of the French is now so precarious that the fatal blow could come even before the end of the monsoon season in October. Therefore, if M. Bidault wants peace he will have to give way. His plan seems to be a vague synthesis of the French, the American, the British, and the Bao Dai–Vietnam views. It is obvious that it is only a basis for future negotiations.

The Vietminh plan, which has the backing of the Chinese and Russian delegations, would lead to the control of the three Indo-Chinese Associated States by the Ho Chi-minh forces. The bait put out for French public opinion is clever but much too obvious. The promise to maintain France's economic and cultural interests in Indo-China and the offer to join the French Union are perfect examples of diplomatic double-talk, but they provide face-saving which the French badly need. The Vietminh and the Chinese have already indicated that their proposal is not a rigid one and is open to negotiation. Addressed to a war-weary France, the proposals are extremely intelligent tools of psychological warfare.

WILL a compromise be reached? Molotov's revised formula, which more nearly approaches the French proposal, indicates that the Russians really want peace in Indo-China. They are scared by the prospect of American military intervention in Southeast Asia and ready to sacrifice a few of their maximum goals in order to avoid it. The Chinese are harder to convince, and the Vietminh is probably the hardest of the Communist trio at the conference table. It must also be said that there is a limit to the Russian "desire for peace in Indo-China." The limit is set by the traditional Soviet policy of supporting colonial peoples against "imperialists." This is not only Moscow's propaganda line in Asia but one of the pillars of Soviet foreign policy. It cannot be abandoned by Molotov. Moscow could possibly influence Peking to lower the stakes but could never abandon the Vietminh, as was suggested at the beginning of the conference. The Chinese certainly need trade and want to open relations with the West, but they are not going to pay any excessive price in Indo-China for it.

Ben Shahn

General Bedell Smith

The main question remains unanswered. Did the West come to Geneva in order honestly to try to achieve peace in Indo-China, or did it come to prove that peace is impossible and that defense pacts, military interventions, and the like are indispensable? It seems that the United States delegation has not completely made up its mind. As for M. Bidault, under the pressure of military calamities in Indo-China and of political weakness at home he has been forced to shift his position. He had obviously planned to face the other side with rather heavy-handed demands, counting on the threat of United States intervention. His plans misfired. He has had to make an "agonizing reappraisal" of French Indo-China policy. For the time being he is caught between a political hurricane at home, the tough demands of Messrs. Molotov, Chou, and Dong, and the confusion in Washington.

It is risky to predict anything at this point. But the conference might evolve along the following lines:

1. Laniel's tenuous victory last week indicates that the French government may yet fall and Bidault be retired from Geneva in favor of another man with completely new ideas. This might of course have very serious repercussions on French-American relations.

2. The Russians may not let the conference end in complete failure. Some measure of agreement may be achieved, even on Indo-China, permitting a real negotiation in the near future. A new conference might be decided upon before the Geneva conference adjourns.

3. It seems unlikely that the United States will play a very important role here. Since the departure of John Foster Dulles, General Bedell Smith has been attending as if he were an observer rather than a participant. Never before, in these post-war years, has a United States delegation been so silent, so uncertain about its policies and objectives. Some experts think that orders will come soon enough from Washington. The National Security Council has not spoken its last word.

4. This conference is an Asian conference, but only the Russians, the British, and the Chinese seem to realize it. Ever since it started, Eden has kept in mind the paramount importance for the Commonwealth of retaining some measure of unity with its Asian members. That is why Nehru, though absent from Geneva, has in fact been very much present. If a constructive solution is found for Indo-China, India will have played a part in it.

5. Partition seems to be the only way out. No delegation has so far admitted it would accept this solution. But since the extreme positions of both sides are unacceptable, some middle way must be found. The partition of Indo-China does not have to be called partition. But under the guise of military zones, regrouping areas, different political controls, and the like a kind of de facto partition could be the only real way out of the deadlock.

The West fears Communist domination of one of the great strategic centers of Southeast Asia, with its enormous riches. The East fears the replacement of the weak French forces by formidable American military power. Moscow and Peking are aware that World War III could start here and now. It is logical to assume that the fears of both West and East could lead to a workable compromise. But what is logical in the present world and in cold-war diplomacy?

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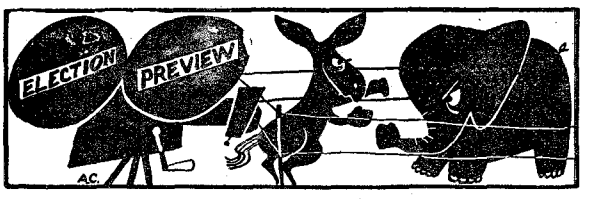

LIBERAL SWING

by William G. Carleton

Gainesville, Florida

THE results of the first Southern primaries of the year, those of Florida and Alabama on May 4, show that organizing the Republican Party in the South has made little headway, that the Democrats are on the way back in national and Presidential politics, and that liberalism is resurgent in the Democratic Party.

In 1952, 55 per cent of the Florida voters cast their ballots for Eisenhower; in the May 4 primary two Republican contestants for the governorship received together only about 40,000 votes out of an approximate total of 700,000 cast by members of both parties. In only two of the state's eight Congressional districts—the Sarasota and the Tampa-St. Petersburg district—were there contests for the Republican Congressional nomination, and the vote in both fell far below expectations.

None of the three Democrats seeking the nomination for governor was an old-fashioned conservative. Charley Johns, the acting Governor, who ran first, is a neo-Populist with widespread support from labor, poor farmers, and county machines. He has an anti-Negro record. State Senator LeRoy Collins, who ran second, is a benevolent and constructively thinking conservative who fought to unmask the Ku Klux Klan, opposed attempts in the legislature to circumvent federal-court decisions outlawing the white primary, and in the recent primary campaigned in friendly fashion in the Negro precincts. Brailey Odham, who ran third, is a political maverick with some liberal leanings. The governorship contest will be determined on May 25 when Johns and Collins face the run-off. The May 4 primary also "restored the Democratic organization to the Democrats" when a majority of counties elected loyal national-party Democrats to the county and state committees.

In spite of Johns's anti-Negro record, the Negro vote seems to have been split between Johns and Collins. Many Negroes voted for Johns because of his pro-labor views, his stand for more generous old-age pensions, and the vigorous backing of the popular sheriff of Duval County (Jacksonville), where the Negro vote is heaviest. This is the first time since the white primary was outlawed that the Florida Negro has had to choose between a pro-labor "white-supremacy" candidate and a conservative benevolently disposed to Negroes. (Florida Negroes voted 90 per cent or better for Truman in 1948, for Senator Pepper in 1950, for Kefauver in the preferential primary of 1952, and for Stevenson in the Presidential election of 1952.) Confronted with an ideological dilemma, the Negro community divided and its vote declined.

IN ALABAMA the national Democrats and liberals won a resounding victory when Senator John Sparkman was renominated over three opponents and when former Governor "Big Jim" Folsom, friend of the small farmer, foe of the conservative Alabama Farm Bureau, and avowed New Dealer and Fair Dealer, sensationally obtained a clear majority over six opponents. Moreover, the Folsom sweep apparently carried to victory a pro-Folsom legislature. In his previous term as governor, from 1947 to 1951, Folsom had a constant battle with his conservative legislature and was accused of trying to foist on the state the "philosophy of the Farmers' Union and the C. I. O."

The national Democrats also seem to have retained control of the state organization, in spite of the vigorous fight of the states'-righters to capture the Democratic state committee. During the campaign the states'-righters were indignant because the Alabama state committee was the only one in the South to purge them and to bar all Democrats who voted for Eisenhower in 1952 from being candidates in the local and state Democratic primaries. Conservative Democrats, led by the embittered Dixiecrat, Gessner T. McCorvey, who engineered the coup of 1948 which kept Truman off the Alabama ballot, waged an impassioned campaign for vindication and ran page ads in the newspapers appealing to the voters to punish the "dictatorial" state committee for making aliens of "loyal Alabamans" who stood for Southern race views and the "party of their ancestors." Alabama voters responded by voting to keep the Democratic organization in the hands of national Democrats. For the first time in history several Negroes were elected to the state committee.

Nationally, the most significant result of the Alabama primary was the renomination of Senator Sparkman. Conservatives were particularly eager for Sparkman's scalp because of his national prominence. They boasted he was to go the way that Claude Pepper and Frank Graham had gone in 1950. Moreover, they felt that if they could "get" Sparkman this year they could "get" Senator Lister Hill in 1956, and Hill is considered the master-strategist of the Southern liberals.

Sparkman's chief opponent in the primary, Representative Laurie C. Battle, was from Birmingham, where Sparkman would have to run well if he were to win. Battle had attained some prominence as the author of the measure which cut off American aid from countries that sold strategic materials to Communist countries. He had plenty of money, some of it said to have come from Texas oil millionaires. Northern industry exerted its usual pressure among the managerial classes. In the closing days of the campaign unsigned dodgers picturing Sparkman with three Negroes were dropped on the porches of thousands of homes. Sparkman ac-

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cused McCorvey of being connected with the circulation of these pictures.

In his campaign for reelection Sparkman stressed his experience in foreign affairs and as an American representative at the United Nations, his seniority, his work in the Senate for veterans, farmers, and laboring men, his support of TVA in the past, and his concern for its future. Sparkman was favored by liberal and middle-of-the-road political leaders, loyal party men who dislike the extremism of the Dixiecrats.

THE returns revealed again the persistence of traditional voting patterns. Sparkman carried the counties of the Tennessee Valley and northern Alabama by whopping majorities. (These were the old Jacksonian counties, the later Populist counties.) He broke even or more than even in the cities owing to his strength in labor and lower-middle-class precincts. Battle was strong in the prosperous middle-class precincts of the cities and in the planter counties of the black belt around Montgomery and Selma. (These black-belt counties were traditional sources of strength for the Whigs, later for conservative Democrats.) As expected, the primary turned out to be a contest of the "big mules" of Birmingham and the black-belt communities against labor and the small farmers, plus the lower middle class.

It should be noted that Sparkman faced a somewhat easier situation than that which brought defeat to Pepper in Florida and Graham in North Carolina in 1950. Both Sparkman and Lister Hill, while consistently liberal on economic matters, are less vulnerable on the race question, since they have been careful in their formal voting to reflect orthodox Southern views on civil-rights measures in Congress. Also Alabama is the most liberal of Southern states, the old agrarian and Populist liberalism having a new ally in the labor unions of the industrial centers. It should be remembered that on the same day in 1950 that Pepper went down to defeat in Florida, Lister Hill carried Alabama.

The victory of Sparkman in Alabama will help Kefauver in Tennessee. The "Stop Kefauver" factions are having a hard time finding a candidate to oppose the Senator in the Democratic primary in August. No one has yet announced. In Tennessee the candidate who gets the highest vote in the Democratic primary wins the nomination without a run-off, even if he does not have a majority. The opposition to Kefauver must therefore concentrate on a single candidate if it is to have any chance. The Senator seems to be enjoying a comeback in popularity. Fear that the TVA is being sabotaged is general in the state, and Kefauver is speaking in its defense. Already the opposition talks less of beating him in the primary and more of beating him in the election with Ray H. Jenkins, the Republican lawyer currently gaining publicity as counsel in the McCarthy-army feud. Even if conservative Democrats and Republicans form an uneasy alliance to defeat Kefauver in November, the task will prove difficult in a Democratic state in what looks more and more like a Democratic year.

Marko

Senator Sparkman

The Southern Democratic governors who supported Eisenhower are saying less and less. Governor Byrnes of South Carolina has lapsed into a deepening silence. In their public statements Governor Kennon of Louisiana and Governor Shivers of Texas are more and more on the defensive. Senator Lyndon Johnson is gaining popularity in Texas; and Senator A. J. Ellender of Louisiana, as the result of his vigorous opposition to the Benson farm program, seems to have the odds in his favor in his fight for reelection against more conservative opposition. The liberal trend should help former Governor Sid McMath in his bid for the senatorship in Arkansas, although the chances of conservative Senator McClellan may have been improved by the publicity the McCarthy-army hearings have given him.

THE Democratic revival in the South is due to many things—the reaction which always follows Southern apostasy to the Democratic tradition, the growing confusion in the Eisenhower Administration, the McCarthy hearings, the intensifying of the international crisis, the hard-money policy, the lay-offs of workers in industrial areas. However, three factors stand out in Southern opinion. One has to do with patronage: both Republicans and Eisenhower Democrats are dissatisfied with the way it has been handled; Democratic politicians are increasingly irritated by the loss of jobs; and there is popular opposition to the trumped-up charges under the Hatch Act which threaten Democratic postmasters, as in the case of the veteran postmaster at Nashville, Lewis E. Moore, Sr. A second is the unrest among farmers over the Benson farm program, the fear that high and fixed parity price supports will give way to lower and flexible supports. Finally, there is alarm over the cutting of TVA funds and the threats to transfer to private utilities the function of transmitting electrical power from federal projects where the power is generated—in spite of old contracts guaranteeing federal transmission to rural communities, cooperatives, and municipalities. Certain municipalities, like Memphis, have long-range utility programs based on federal contractual policies of the past twenty years. These could not be changed without great hardship. Memphis is even threatened with the loss of a federal generator plant. The Eisenhower Administration's attack on the TVA and other federal power projects is like a "fire bell in the night" to hundreds of communities in Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

The returns from the early Southern primaries, combined with newspaper reports from all over the South, reveal a trend not only back to the Democratic Party but back to Democratic liberalism. This may also portend Democratic resurgence in the nation in 1954.

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WISCONSIN DOUBLE-TAKE

Joe Has New Worries . . . *by Miles McMillin*

Madison, Wisconsin

DESPITE Senator McCarthy's blustering that he welcomes the televising of his row with the army as a means of forcing the "left-wing press" to tell the truth, there is ample evidence that the hearings are hurting the Senator in his most sensitive spot—his standing in his home bailiwick. For the first time many of the people in Wisconsin who have supported him have had an opportunity to see him in action. While they knew he was given to roughneck methods, they thought he used them only against the disloyal, and accepted his explanation that "skunks" had to be treated in such fashion. Now they are seeing the same methods used against pedigreed Republicans and anybody else who stands in his path.

It appears that he is doing himself the most harm among the housewives, who have time during the day to watch the proceedings. This is particularly true in prosperous middle-class groups, where he has had fairly solid support and where sensitivity to his crude behavior would be expected.

McCarthy seems to be aware of the danger. Although he is not up for reelection until 1958, he is paying more attention to his constituents than he has done since he first went to Washington in 1947. He has sacrificed three successive recent week-ends which could have been used for the preparation of his case against the army to come home on speaking tours. His wife, despite the fact that she must hobble about on crutches, accompanies him on these trips. The Senator is behaving as only worried candidates behave in an election year. He has missed no chance in his well-attended speeches to disparage the hearings, referring to them as a "waste of time," "red-minnow burlesques," a "circus to discover who shined Schine's shoes."

There is reason to believe that he is more worried about the "Joe Must Go" movement than his public statements indicate. Le Roy Gore, the editor who started the movement, maintains that the Senator's speaking schedule shows that the recall campaign has led him to rediscover the state. McCarthy can scarcely fear, however, that the campaign will succeed. If he is disturbed, it is about the propaganda impact both here in Wisconsin and in the nation.

His visits back home have been followed by concerted efforts to harass the Joe Must Go movement. Local Republican organizations have published newspaper ads designed to frighten prospective signers of the recall petition by implying that signers favor "atheistic communism." A "Door for Gore" movement has been launched in Gore's home town, the purpose of which is to drive Gore and the Joe Must Go headquarters out of town. Its founder has boasted that he conferred with McCarthy during one of his recent visits.

The McCarthyite district attorney of Gore's home county has launched a John Doe proceeding and issued subpoenas for Gore and another officer of the Joe Must Go Club. Although the nature of the charges against Gore, if any, are kept a strict secret, it is known that they are based on what appears to be trumped-up accusations concerning violations of the state Corrupt Practices Act. The county judge had previously reviewed similar charges and declared there was no evidence to sustain them. Gore has gone into court to challenge the district attorney's authority to proceed with a secret action against him.

Gore says there are definite signs that the hearings are helping his drive for recall petitions. He says the number of signers has picked up noticeably in rural areas where there is TV reception.

In one of his recent week-end speeches McCarthy made a strong bid to hold his support in the rural areas, where it has always been strong. Speaking to a mainly farm crowd at Athens, he came out for a farm program guaranteeing 100 per cent of parity. Although he has long promised a "major farm speech," this is the first time he has spoken out on the subject in Wisconsin. He appears to be directing his appeal for votes over the head of the party organization to the Wisconsin dairy farmer, who feels that the Eisenhower Administration has treated him unfairly by slashing price supports on dairy products from 90 to 75 per cent of parity.

It is no secret that his conversion to high-parity price supports is in conflict with the predominant feeling in the Republican organization. Four days after he came out for 100 per cent of parity Governor Kohler declared, "Any politician who seeks votes and tells dairy farmers that price supports of 90 or 100 per cent of parity is the answer to their problem is lying to the dairy farmer." Asked if he meant McCarthy, the Governor refused to single him out but lumped him with three of the state's Democratic leaders—James Doyle, William Proxmire, and Gaylord Nelson. "I emphatically oppose the Doyle-Proxmire-Nelson-McCarthy proposals," he said. The Democrats have not advocated the 100 per cent formula but a return to the 90 per cent level.

This is not the first sign of trouble for McCarthy in the Republican ranks. Even before the hearings started, the Wisconsin press carried a significant dispatch by John Wyngaard, Madison correspondent for a string of Republican and pro-McCarthy papers and a close personal friend of the Senator's. Mr. Wyngaard wrote that "among the Republican partisans of his own state" the reaction to McCarthy's recent behavior was "unfavorable." "The whole McCarthy picture has abruptly changed," he continued. "He has seemed to become a threat to the institution of the Republican Party and in the process he may be being transformed from asset

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into liability, from the party's point of view. The Senator is now cast in a new and, from the G. O. P. viewpoint, dangerous and unworthy role. . . . If a poll were taken among his homefolk today, the star player might be given pause by the results of the count."

There are not many in Wisconsin, even among McCarthy's friends, who will say that the sagging "count" to which Mr. Wyngaard referred before the opening of the hearings has been bolstered by the weird story the miracle of television has been unfolding in homes across the Wisconsin countryside.

CHICAGO FIDDLES WHILE

Trumbull Park Burns . . . *by Robert Gruenberg*

Chicago

ON JULY 30, 1953, Donald Howard, a war veteran, with his wife and two small children became the first Negro tenants of Trumbull Park Homes, a federal housing project operated by the Chicago Housing Authority in the steel-mill belt of Chicago's South Side. Less than a week later the 462-unit development and surrounding lawns were a fire-gutted, rubble-strewn wasteland. Since then ten other Negro families have moved into the development, and "racial disturbances" ranging from rock-tossing to rioting and arson have become an almost daily occurrence.

Two weeks ago the Howard family, importuned by well-intentioned friends, moved out, in the hope that order would be restored and the other Negro tenants left in peace. But rocks continue to fly and aerial bombs puncture the night. Recently tension rose to such a point that civic, labor, and church leaders, meeting under the sponsorship of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, warned Chicago's Mayor Kennelly that unless he took immediate steps to stop the disturbances he would have to face "continuous" mass demonstrations at the City Hall.

In the three months before the Howard family moved into Trumbull Park Homes only three fire alarms were turned in from the area, two of them for minor blazes. Since last summer alarms have averaged two dozen a month, about half of them false. There have been forty-four fires in sheds, garages, and barns, eight in the Trumbull Park project itself, and two in liquor stores. A tavern which had served Negroes was completely destroyed.

Insurance estimates of the damage of all kinds caused by the "disturbances" are as high as $200,000. The Fire Department, which always estimates conservatively, puts fire losses alone at over $15,000.

The police report of a garage blaze reads: "[The owner, a lawyer] attended several meetings of the City Council one year before. He took a firm stand in favor of an addition to the Trumbull Park development. He believes that this attempt to destroy his property is the aftermath of his appearance at these meetings." The report on the tavern fire says: "[The owner] stated he believed the threats resulted from his practice of serving Negroes." A couple whose garage was burned last November had it replaced by their insurance company. The garage was again set on fire in January. The police reported: "Mrs. —— stated that before the first fire people came to their home and asked for donations for people that got themselves in racial trouble in the neighborhood. They were also asked if they would sign a petition limiting police protection to any family to twenty-four hours. Mr. and Mrs. —— refused, and since then the people that are their neighbors don't want to have anything to do with them."

The number of police detailed to the project has ranged from 200 to 1,200, but there have been frequent complaints that they looked the other way when rocks were thrown and persons threatened. Chicago's police commissioner, Timothy J. O'Connor, is an Irish cop of the old nightstick school. He is personally sincere in his desire to quell the disturbances and bring the area back to normal, but the men in the ranks—who must do the work—evince a tragic lack of understanding of the situation if not outright sympathy with anti-Negro elements. In their rather feeble effort to preserve order and enforce the law they have arrested 116 persons, excluding juveniles. Forty-two of these were fined from $1 to $200; ten were fined $200, the maximum allowed under the charge. Thirty-two were discharged. The cases against the others were dropped or continued or are still in the court mill. One man found guilty of attempted arson was sent to jail for a year. Another drew ten days.

Many people have dismissed the incidents as either youthful exuberance or genuine expressions of protest by aroused owners of nearby property. Others, however, have been aware for some time that the trouble at Trumbull Park is not altogether spontaneous. All the evidence shows it has been fanned by two small groups, one of them a professional race-baiting outfit.

These are the South Deering Improvement Association, one of scores of "improvement" associations intent on keeping the Negro out of "all white" areas, and the National Citizens' Protective Association, a hate group founded by a former aide of Gerald L. K. Smith, the anti-Semitic race baiter, and boasting among its national officers a former Ku Klux Klan "emperor." The president of the home-grown South Deering association is Louis P. Dinnocenzo, a $6,000-a-year highway engineer on the Cook County pay roll. His organization, he claims, has about 500 members, each of whom pays dues of a dollar a year. They meet once a month in the Trumbull Park fieldhouse.

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If you ask Dinnocenzo about the part played by his association in the racial disorders, he answers straightforwardly: "We are requesting our aldermen and our representatives to do everything within their ability to get them [the ten Negro families living in the project] out." What else are you doing? "We're parading around at night—within the law—like we're entitled to do—to picket." Doesn't parading create an atmosphere begetting violence? "Yes, it sometimes does," he admits, "but we don't want the violence. It's the teenagers." Dinnocenzo calls the moving in of Negroes "an encroachment on our right." He explains: "While the law is opposed to us, morally we're right." The solution to the problem, he says, is to move the Negro families out and "educate" the neighborhood before allowing them back in.

The Negro-hating National Citizens' Protective Association got its foothold in Chicago last summer and held its first public meeting in November. It was organized by John W. Hamilton, an electrician, a former lieutenant of Gerald L. K. Smith who broke away from the old rabble-rouser several years ago. Its official publication, the *White Sentinel,* edited by Hamilton, carries inflammatory attacks on Negroes.

Weaving in and out of both groups is Joseph Beauharnais, Chicago's own racist leader, whose White Circle League was greatly weakened by his conviction for group libel in 1952. Beauharnais makes speeches at the meetings of both groups in the hope of reviving interest in his League. Dinnocenzo says he wants to have nothing to do with him.

Going with God in Trumbull Park

> The Trumbull Park housing project is a white housing project. . . . Only the ignoble and shameful and the base can be suppressed, never the heroic truth, for we go with God. If you live like a good American, you don't need the police department and a pressure group to keep you by force in a community where you know you don't belong. Get out, and get off our backs. —*From a letter to the editor of the* Daily Calumet *in South Chicago.*

Mayor Kennelly has yet to come out with a strong statement condemning the South Deering lawlessness. His own Human Relations Commission and certain civic organizations, official and unofficial, have repeatedly urged him to insist on more effective prosecution by the city attorney and the state's attorney. They got no action—or even a statement—until the eve of the "march on City Hall" several weeks ago, when between 250 and 500 delegates of Negro, business, labor, professional, and civic groups paraded peacefully for an hour in an effort to dramatize the seriousness of the Trumbull Park situation. In the statement he finally issued Kennelly said: "From the outset I have instructed the Department of Police to keep order there and throughout the city of Chicago and prevent violence no matter where it may arise or from whatsoever cause. The rights of individuals with respect to their homes and property must and will be protected against any violation of their lawful rights. This policy will be maintained." Two days later two sheds in South Deering caught fire.

THE instigators of the South Deering disorders are aided not only by the inaction of City Hall but by the positive support of political leaders in their own bailiwick. Chief among these is Alderman Emil Vincent Pacini, a big, burly, ex-World War I aviator who has represented the Tenth Ward since 1945. Pacini has always been one of the loudest and bitterest critics of public housing, the Chicago Housing Authority, and its executive secretary, Elizabeth Wood. Last October he charged Miss Wood with trying to cause racial trouble and called for her resignation. The Chicago *Daily News* commented: "If Mr. Pacini were halfway fit for his aldermanic responsibilities he would surely know that the problem would be here if Miss Wood had never been born and that it will remain for a long time, whether she goes or stays." In a letter to the editor, Pacini replied that Chicagoans should not be "penalized by conditions brought about by a continuous influx of emigrants from other states, many of whom become virtual wards of the city and state."

The most outspoken support for the South Deering troublemakers comes from the *Daily Calumet,* a paper published in a neighboring area. Its editor is Colonel Horace F. Wulf, an army-reserve officer. Here is a sample of his writing: "Some white areas may welcome other races with open arms, bless them. But the folks of South Deering have not been sufficiently brainwashed to consent to such practice. Any race mixing must be done with a policeman's nightstick."

Ironically, part of the *Daily Calumet's* financial support comes from the tax dollars of Chicago's citizens, Negro and white. As a newspaper of "general circulation" it can bid for advertising contracts of the Chicago Sanitary District, and this year it obtained the contract. One of the Republican trustees of the Sanitary District is John Henneberger, for ten years president of United Steelworkers Local 1008 at the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company's South Chicago plant before he retired in 1951 with a lifetime honorary presidency. On February 1 the *Daily Calumet* reported as follows on Henneberger's talk at a dinner held by the South Deering Improvement Association attended by 500 persons: "He said, 'It is an inspiring sight to see a community fight for what it thinks is right.' He added the Republican Party stands ready to lend its hand to any group of citizens engaged in a struggle for a just cause." Questioned about this, Henneberger denied making the statement.

In the Trumbull Park area church action has been weak if not non-existent: the priest at St. Kevin's asked his congregation to shun violence and hate; St. Joachim's Roman Catholic church, in an interracial parish nearby, tried to quiet some of the tensions. Outside the community the churches have taken a stronger stand. The Church Federation of Greater Chicago has urged Protestant ministers to do "what they can to ease a dangerous crisis in race relations." The Chicago Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations has also spoken up. Other interfaith groups are cooperating, as are the Quakers and the B'nai B'rith. But none of these efforts, however commendable, have made much of a dent. When an organization like the Chicago Real Estate Board complains to the Mayor about the number of policemen assigned to Trumbull Park, when other influential groups are on the side of

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prejudice, only a powerful voice like that of a Bishop Sheil can shock the conscience of Chicago's politicians back to right and decency.

Donald Howard's decision to leave Trumbull Park was sudden and known in advance to only a few police officials and Howard's attorneys. One of Chicago's police captains helped Howard get a new job and a new home. Howard authorized his attorneys to say in his behalf:

> Police officials and well-meaning human-relations experts have visited me and they have approached me through well-intentioned persons, all with the view that my continued occupancy of an apartment . . . represents a threat to civil peace and tranquillity in Trumbull Park Homes. Having in mind the fact that there are ten other Negro families in Trumbull Park Homes and hoping that there is something my family and I can do to contribute to a restoration of order in Trumbull Park I have decided to succumb to the pressures placed on me.

Commenting on Howard's departure, Dinnocenzo said, "This won't be a definite solution."

Unrevised—and Still Poison

by James Higgins

THE first major effort since 1947 to enact significant federal labor legislation failed on May 7 when the Senate voted to return to committee a number of proposed revisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Just before the vote was taken, Republican Senator Knowland said, "A motion to recommit this bill is a motion to kill this bill as far as this session is concerned."

When Taft-Hartley was passed over President Truman's veto in 1947, Southern Democrats joined Northern Republicans to swing the deal. This year, however, the Democrats all voted together, as they had not done on labor legislation since the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932. Their reasons were mixed. The Southerners had at least two objections to the proposed revisions. Some of them felt that any modification of the law even slightly favorable to labor, such as the recommendation that no employer be permitted to file a representation petition with the National Labor Relations Board during the course of a strike, was undesirable. Most of them preferred no new legislation at all to the chance that Senator Lehman's amendment stipulating fair employment practices would become part of the National Labor Relations Act.

Northern Democrats opposed the proposals which came from the Senate Labor Committee for their anti-labor bias; this was pointed out in detail by both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., and in committee by the six minority Democrats. The Democrats, moreover, were incensed at the tactics employed by Republican committee chairman Alexander Smith, who refused them opportunity to offer their own amendments in committee after they had permitted the Republicans to assemble the revisions which suited them. Wholly aside from the issue at hand, this kind of committee "steam-rollering," as the minority members called it, might have been enough to guarantee an indignant Democratic attitude in the Senate.

The committee, at the same time, thus made the proposals strictly a party affair, so that a vote against them was a vote against the Administration and President Eisenhower, whose Taft-Hartley ideas, most of them taken up by the committee, had been presented to Congress last January. The President wanted the Senate to vote the Taft-Hartley revisions. A number of Republicans, however, both in the House and Senate, may well have been pleased that in a Congressional-election year they did not have to go directly on record on labor legislation. Senator Smith said the vote of May 7 made him "cheerful as a dicky bird." The fall elections, in fact, were the backdrop for the entire play of returning the proposals to committee.

Although the possibility of any changes in Taft-Hartley has just about disappeared for 1954, it is worth noting that this campaign for revisions marked the strongest attempt in the cold-war era to mount a legislative offensive against organized labor. Taft-Hartley was anti-labor primarily in the sense that it was a barricade against continuing union organization. Its basic effect was described succinctly in 1953 by William Pollock, a vice-president of the C. I. O. Textile Workers' Union, when he told the House Education and Labor Committee that the Taft-Hartley law had "brought to a dead halt" new union organization, especially in the South. In other words, the result of six years of Taft-Hartley had been to leave the labor movement, numerically speaking, right where it was. From 1936 to 1945 union membership had grown from three million to fifteen million. From 1945 to 1954, with some forty-five million workers unorganized, there had been no increase worth mentioning. Taft-Hartley, in the main, was responsible. In this way it was a law of defense, and one that worked.

However, some representative elements of conservative thinking felt when Taft-Hartley was young—and still feel, no doubt—that the law contained plenty of offensive weapons for use at the proper time. On July 4, 1947, the newspaper columnist David Lawrence wrote, "The Taft-Hartley Act will be more effective when there is a little unemployment." On December 18, 1948, the magazine *Business Week* commented, "Given a few million unemployed in America and an Administration which is not pro-union, and the Taft-Hartley Act could wreck the labor movement."

On the face of things it appears that the proposed revisions in Taft-Hartley were indicative of a split between the interests which wished to attack organized labor with new weapons and those which were willing to test the Lawrence-*Business Week* predictions. The extremes to which the former were committed were illustrated by an amendment offered in the Senate by the Republican Barry Goldwater of Arizona. This would have turned jurisdiction over labor relations back to the forty-

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eight states in so flat a fashion that, as Goldwater agreed, a state could outlaw collective bargaining if it chose. The tone if not the letter of recommendations made in recent years by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers was echoed by the Goldwater amendment, as well as by other items in the revisions before the Senate.

With Taft-Hartley remaining unchanged for the time being, adherents of the *Business Week* thesis now have a chance to test their prescience. The two conditions laid down by the magazine now exist: there are a "few million unemployed" in the country, and the Administration is "not pro-union." A National Labor Relations Board which is predominantly reactionary as the result of Eisenhower appointments can be expected to use Taft-Hartley to weaken further if not to destroy the American labor movement.

THE Lord of the Universe leaned over the gold wall of heaven and stared at a planet in the middle distance, not unlike several others in the vicinity except that at irregular intervals there appeared on its surface flashes of intensely brilliant light. "Michael!" he called.

The Archangel came to his side, his breastplate glittering in the morning sun. "Yes, Lord."

"I see they've discovered atomic fission. How long did it take them?"

"About the usual time, sir. I can get you the exact—"

"No, don't bother." The Lord of the Universe watched the planet intently. "It doesn't look very promising, does it, Michael?"

"No, sir. They seem to be doing just about the same as all the others."

"Upon my word, I don't know what to think," the Lord of the Universe said broodingly. "Surely if the creatures are intelligent enough to discover the secret, they should be intelligent enough to make good use of it?"

"That's what you'd expect, sir. But so far none of them has."

"No. They seem interested only in explosions, each one bigger than the last, until they set off one so terrible it destroys them utterly. Or they contaminate their planet with so many small explosions it becomes an abomination, and I have to dissolve it back to its original elements to keep it from infecting the rest of the universe."

The Archangel nodded. "A bang or a stink: that's been about the size of it so far, all right."

"I must say I was hoping this one would turn out a little better."

"I know you were, sir. Though I often wonder why you bother."

"The scientific spirit, Michael. Or perhaps some obscure need to justify my ways."

"Justify your ways? I don't understand."

"Never mind, Michael."

The Archangel gazed at him uncertainly. "Will you try again, sir, if this one doesn't work out?"

"I don't know, Michael. What do you think?"

"Well, sir, if *I* had an experiment go wrong on me twenty-three times in a row, I'd certainly begin to wonder."

"I suppose you would. Still, one can't help hoping." He was silent for a moment. "I imagine we'll know soon, don't you?"

"Oh, I've been expecting the big bang all morning, sir. They don't usually last long once they get going."

"There may not be a big bang this time, Michael."

"The odds say different, sir."

"They may learn wisdom in time, Michael. The explosions may cease."

The Archangel glanced at the planet. "I doubt it, sir."

"Well, we should know by lunch time, don't you think?"

"Oh, easily, sir. Shall I get you a chair?"

"No, thank you, I'll be quite comfortable right here." The Lord of the Universe leaned his arms on the wall and settled down to wait. "How's your family, Michael?"

And while the Archangel told him about his family the Lord of the Universe leaned on the gold wall of heaven and watched the planet, his beard stirring gently now and then in the breeze. It was as lovely a morning as one could want, the sunshine just warm enough and the sky a cloudless blue. The universe, its Lord reflected, was without a flaw. Only in the middle distance the pinpoints of light continued to flash across the somewhat smudged surface of the planet, one after another, each one a little brighter than the last.

THOMAS BELL is the author of "All Brides Are Beautiful," "Out of This Furnace," and other novels.

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BOOKS

Two Nuns and a Strolling Player

POEMS, A SELECTION. By Léonie Adams. Funk and Wagnalls. $3.

COLLECTED POEMS, 1923-53. By Louise Bogan. Noonday Press. $3.

MINE THE HARVEST. By Edna St. Vincent Millay. Harper. $3.

By John Ciardi

MISS ADAMS'S poetry is a difficult labor. Intensely compact, intensely intellectualized, and rigorously ascetic, it comes true, but it does not come easy. The matter, as she writes in "Sundown," is sanctified, "dipped in a gold stain." It seems doubtful that there can be a wide audience for Miss Adams's gold stain, but that there will always be a group of discerning and enthusiastic readers seems certain.

I cannot, however, suggest more than a tentative sense of these poems. Miss Adams has been writing for many years now, but neither of her first two books has been available for over twenty years, she does not publish in the magazines, and her name seldom enters discussions of poetry. For these reasons I have never read more than a few of her poems at any one time, before the appearance of this selection. Having had the reviewer's two weeks in which to find the poetry, I know certainly that it contains more poetry than any man can find in two weeks. What I am sure of is that this is a book to return to, and many times. Nor can there be any doubt that there is carriage, passion, and passionate management here. It is poetry—unmistakably and movingly, the achieved form and the delivered impact of a lived experience.

At this tentative stage I find myself with one principal question to ask of my rereadings, a question not of the gift and devotion of the poet but of the scale of the human experience. A wrong question perhaps. Or one that would be wrong if applied to a lesser talent. I have it in mind, however, that Miss Adams's poems are the work of a very considerable talent, and that granted the poet's aesthetic ability to accomplish whatever he sets out to accomplish, we are sooner or later required to ask how much the poet has taken on in a human way.

Let the question be located around the following poem, a sonnet titled, "Alas, Kind Element!"

> Then I was sealed, and like the wintering tree
> I stood me locked upon a summer core;
> Living had died a death, and asked no more.
> And I lived then, but as enduringly,
> And my heart beat, but only as to be.
> Ill weathers well, hail, gust and cold I bore,
> I held my life as hid, at roots, in store.
> Thus I lived then, till this air breathed on me.
> Till this kind air breathed kindness everywhere,
> There where my times had left me I would stay.
> Then I was staunch, I knew nor yes nor no;
> But now the wistful leaves have thronged the air.
> My every leaf leans forth upon the day;
> Alas, kind element! which comes to go.

I find this a fascinating poem. It is also a poem that could have been written at any time between 1575 and 1625. Is it fair to ask how many centuries the poet can afford to put by? In diction? In movement? In awareness?

I have no certain answer to these questions, especially in the face of the poem's excellence. I find myself believing that had the poem turned up as a lost manuscript of a Shakespeare sonnet, I should have accepted it and admired it as such. And yet is it not reasonable to think that it is easier, or at least less relevant, to rewrite even Shakespeare than it is to find the form of what lives not only in eternal time but in that eternal time that lies behind the day we live in? Can the poet put by all obligation to wrestle with what Hippolyte Taine called "the moral temperature" of his times? Compared to much modern poetry Miss Adams's gold stain shines like a splendor. Yet, touch it against such a poem as Thomas's "Refusal to Mourn"—to cite only one—and the gold stain seems dimmer. It remains, to be sure, a thing of the spirit, but more nearly of the spirit's jewelry than of its ray and center. Or does it? These thoughts and these questions offer themselves and seem relevant.

Louise Bogan's poetry has much in common with Miss Adams's. Here are the opening lines of three of Miss Bogan's early poems:

> In fear of the rich mouth
> I kissed the thin,—

and

> I make the old sign.
> I invoke you,
> Chastity.

and

> Now that I know
> How passion warms little.

At that point at least—and down to the Puritan marrow of Miss Wylie's bones—Miss Adams and Miss Bogan were surely sisters in the same aesthetic convent; and while I must confess that I have often wondered why that sisterhood insisted on wearing its chastity belts on the outside, poetry nevertheless remains wherever the spirit finds it. If that starting illusion was necessary to the poem, what matters is that the poems came—clean, hard, rigorously disciplined, and reaching to the nerve. Miss Bogan's capture in such an early piece as "Medusa" is enough to justify a whole burial ground of Puritan marrows.

But—speaking as one reader—if I admire objectively the poems of the first three (the earlier) sections of Miss Bogan's collection, with the poems of section four, I find myself forgetting the thee and me of it. I am no longer being objective about the excellences of a poet who leaves me shrugging down to the Neapolitan marrow of my bones. I am immediately engaged. Miss Bogan began in beauty, but she has aged to magnificence, and I find myself thinking that the patina outshines the gold stain. One has only to compare "The Dream" on page 109 with the poems whose openings I have already cited to see how much more truly Miss Bogan sees into herself in the late poems—and not only into herself, but deeply enough into herself to find within her that jungle—call it the Jungian unconscious

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JOHN CIARDI, author of "From Time to Time" and other books of verse, will soon publish a translation of Dante's "Inferno."

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if you must—that everyone has in himself. "The Dream" is not only Miss Bogan's; it is everyone's.

Beginning with the poems of section four, that is, Miss Bogan leaves the convent. She comes out of timelessness into time. Nor is this a matter of topical reference. No such thing. It is, rather, that the kind of inward perception that marks the later poems speaks not only an enduring motion of the human spirit but an enduring motion that is *toward* the timeless *from* the times. The more difficult demon has been wrestled with.

NORMA MILLAY, the poet's sister, has gathered together a last harvest of sixty-six poems unpublished at the time of Edna Millay's death. One is delighted to note in them that the save-the-world rhetoric of Miss Millay's poems of the thirties is largely gone from these. And especially delighted to find flashes of power. The talent, nevertheless, remains self-dramatizing. One cannot doubt the fervor and charm of Miss Millay's private personality. What else could have driven her—deliberately, as her letters reveal—to write bad poetry to the high causes of World War II? But the poet must be judged in the poems, and there is no escaping the conviction that a poet more devoted to the poem—Miss Adams and Miss Bogan will do as examples—would not have tolerated such dreary lines as "Ah, no; ah, no; poor female bird," such readiness to fall into June-noon rhymes, such self-intoxicated absurdities as "The apple-trees bud, but I do not" (a damn good thing, I'd say).

None of which is to deny the joys that are. "The Strawberry Shrub" is superbly managed in the three central stanzas, and there are moments of other poems that flash and go in a way of fire. The impression remains, however, that Miss Millay's strengths and weaknesses are both elocutionary. When she aspires to the high serious, she is least successful, for what emerges is not the true high serious but only its elocutionary manner. The fact is that whatever Miss Millay's intellectual achievements as a human being—and many who have known her have testified that they were impressive—her poetic gift was no vehicle for the intellectual. The poems offer not Minerva but an actress playing Minerva—a charming and talented actress, to be sure, but the difference remains. When the poem offers Miss Millay an opportunity for her dramatic or self-dramatizing urge—as it emphatically does in, say, the first of the Tristan poems—then the result is splendid. When the best it can come up with is that poor female bird, or the coy if fervent posturing of "The Journal," then it is nowhere at all.

Time Has Its Revenge

GOD'S COUNTRY AND MINE. By Jacques Barzun. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $5.

By George Dangerfield

THE historical significance of a book like "God's Country and Mine" is that it reaffirms for the mid-twentieth century what was evident enough to men like Emerson, Hawthorne, and Melville in the mid-nineteenth. It is not provincial or disgraceful—as it would have been in the 1920's—for an intellectual to stand up and say, "I love and accept America." Thus the whirligig of time brings in its revenges, or revisions: they are much the same thing.

A devout love for one's country is not infatuation. In the opening pages of this book, to be sure, where Americans are praised for their energy, variety, political intelligence, generosity, and so forth, the reader might be forgiven for discovering another example of what Reinhold Niebuhr has called "the perpetual liturgy of self-congratulations." As the book proceeds, however, the liturgy becomes a litany. From how many faults and absurdities must we ask to be delivered! Yet, in this noisy congregation of faults and absurdities, the imagination must strive to detect the note of grace.

Thus Barzun's attitude toward the developing American scene is one of meliorism; but it is a meliorism tempered by irony. Since "contradictions coexist," he says, "and make valid claims that cannot be dismissed," it is necessary for him to contradict himself from time to time. So long as the contradictions are only apparent—that is to say, exist merely for the sake of giving the necessary distinctness to valid claims—this works out well enough. An equable defense of business enterprise in the chapter A Philosophy of Trade does not preclude an attack upon some of its uglier pretensions in The Gulf Stream.

But the coexistence of contradictories may, in method if not in life, produce confusion and even deceit. On page 310 you will find the apparently innocent words—"so with us, who seem stuck at the bottom of the 'salt, estranging sea' with Matthew Arnold's Forsaken Merman." No one knows better than Mr. Barzun that the real quotation is "the *unplumb'd,* salt, estranging sea," so that neither we nor the Forsaken Merman could possibly be sitting at the bottom of it. He has deliberately confounded two contradictory Arnoldian "seas"—the sea of alienation in "To Marguerite" and the sea of the unconscious in "The Forsaken Merman."

This over-refinement of method—it is surely no more than that—would not be worth mentioning if it did not figure forth some occasional but more deceiving confusions. For example, at the end of his chapter The Eye on the Needle—a vigorous and no doubt a necessary deflation of the technocratic phrase "science as a way of life"—we come across these astonishing sentences: "But we may ask those in charge of science that it meet the two basic requirements of business and artistic justification: Does it profit us? Yes. Does it yield aesthetic satisfaction? Yes. When in any feature or tendency it departs from these guidelines to rational action it must . . . be brought to book." Here the contradictories in the sciences have become dreadfully mixed. For what is "science" and who is "in charge of it"? Pure science is in charge of the scientist himself, yields immense aesthetic satisfactions, but should not be asked and does not seek to profit us, at any rate in terms of business justification. Applied science is usually in charge of statesmen, enterprisers, and politicians, who may well be judged by their grip, if any, on Mr. Barzun's guidelines to rational action.

GEORGE DANGERFIELD is the author of "The Era of Good Feelings," for which he received the Pulitzer prize in American history.

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If I have ventured to make these criticisms, I have done so because the general excellence of Mr. Barzun's book makes its occasional lapses all the more startling. It is not—it does not pretend to be—a book to which one would go for new political or economic insights. It addresses itself to one aspect of a permanent American problem—the problem of how to adjust agrarian ideals to an industrial society. (The book is, in fact, full of echoes from an availing agrarian past—dislike of great cities, distrust of central authority, distaste for the word "nation," and so forth.)

The questions which it raises over and over again are there: Can the individual breathe—preserve his identity—in an age of mass-culture? Will mass-media develop in the direction of a leveling up and not a leveling down of culture? If American industrial democracy tends, as we hope, toward equality of condition, will it also maintain political freedom? The answers are all in the affirmative, but the affirmations, being by an intelligent and critical mind, are not made without reservations and misgivings. As Barzun puts it, "The great problem of our century is the ancient philosophical problem of the One and the Many . . . and mankind must perish if it cannot hold both ideas at once." Industrialism is the first system in all history which seems capable of abolishing poverty and producing equality; but the free world is the free mind.

New Books in Brief

A Brave and Fair Man

GENERAL DEAN'S STORY. By Major General William F. Dean. As Told to William L. Worden. Viking. $5.

The best-known American general of the Korean war tells the complete story of his capture and three-year imprisonment by the North Koreans. Recounted with engaging simplicity, this pretty terrifying tale, while debunking many of the myths of the Korean campaign, explains why so many Americans died in captivity. Even as privileged a prisoner as General Dean was not permitted to stand up or lie down in daylight hours for sixteen months, suffered swollen hands and feet for lack of exercise, was denied the use of pencil and paper, and was even reprimanded sternly when lips were observed moving. Unlike other Americans he was only threatened with torture, but he was questioned around the clock by relays of interrogators and punished harshly when he did not "cooperate." Yet—and this is a credit to the General—he does not allow his sufferings to deprive him of fairness. He notes that he was usually given the same clothes and food that were issued to the Korean army guards, that if there were cruel officers there were also considerate ones, and that most of his tribulations could be traced to the general shortages in North Korea. The book is filled with revealing observations on the North Korean army, its discipline, its behavior with women, its relations with the Chinese (the General was kept hidden from the Chinese, for fear they might take him away and thus deprive the Koreans of a prize catch), and its military skill. The two lessons General Dean says he learned in captivity were that the West must know what it is fighting for and that it must present a better world than the Communists. Out of these pages the General emerges as a very brave and very fair man, with a tremendous will to survive and little understanding of what went on in Rhee's Korea while he was its military governor. Mr. Worden admits that all he had to do in ghost-writing this book was to keep out of the General's way, and but for a few lapses he has done this well.

Sudanese Sad Sack

A TIME TO LAUGH. By Laurence Thompson. Messner. $3.50.

Gadien, of all Chief Abu Butan's twenty-odd sons, was the one most prone to be oaf, butt, or scapegoat. That Gadien took his mishaps with extreme good humor, being always as ready to laugh at himself as the others were to laugh at him, only exasperated his father the more. So when Colonel Masterson pressed Abu for recruits for the Native Other Ranks to participate in the Alamein campaign, Gadien was obviously the one to be enlisted.

But Gadien understood no more of the English magic than the English officers understood Gadien's overwhelming innocence, stoicism, trustfulness, or need to accumulate bride-purchase money so that he could farm on returning to the village. A comedy of cross-purposes ensued, a tragic comedy for Gadien, maligned, betrayed, court-martialed, sunk into despair by the actions of the evil spirits who had so clearly doomed him.

The best part of "A Time to Laugh" is the author's clarity of heart which enables him to depict stupid, good, sly, devious, lazy, conscientious, brutal, kindly men, all with sympathy. Perhaps his most telling comment on the intricate emotional relationships woven in three centuries of colonialism is that pity—the despised emotion—succeeds, even if

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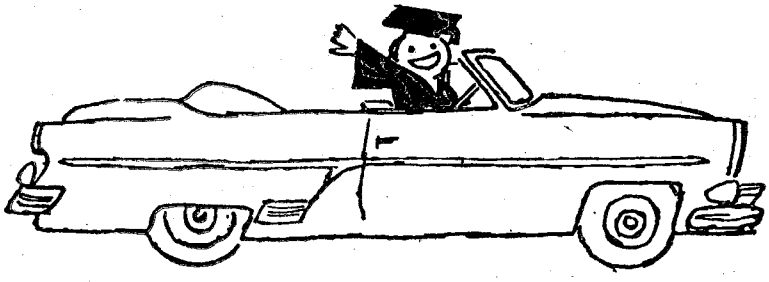

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grudgingly and in alloyed fashion, in rescuing Gadien from the worst of his misery where compassion not only fails but actually worsens his situation.

A Web We Weave

THE GENEROUS HEART. By Kenneth Fearing. Harcourt, Brace. $3.

Mr. Fearing's thriller utilizes, perhaps for the first time in popular fiction, the labyrinthine ways of Doublethink in a non-political context. With a fascinating background of the charity-drive business, "The Generous Heart" unfolds a story of blackmail, extortion, attempted murder, and murder.

The author has been inspired to tell the first half of his story through the mouths of different characters who justify their own actions and asperse those of others. They do this not merely by interpreting events in the most favorable light but by distorting the happenings themselves, with the calm assurance that their version is not merely factually exact but morally right. The atmosphere of amorphous suspicion in which one's sweetheart or lover, friend or partner may suddenly turn out to be a deadly enemy is elevated from the academic-puzzle category of the ordinary mystery, and the chilling conviction of righteousness, suggesting Moscow trials and Congressional hearings, these overtones of Whittaker Chambers and the Komsomol denouncers of parents, are far more terrifying than the second half of "The Generous Heart" and its more conventional technique and solution.

Very Different from Shaw

AROUND THEATERS. By Max Beerbohm. Simon and Schuster. $6.

When the London *Saturday Review* lost Shaw as drama critic, it knew it could not get—and possibly did not want—anyone "like him." Wisely, it settled for someone as different as possible—namely, the young Max Beerbohm, a thumb-at-nose aesthete as incurably amateur as Shaw was fiercely professional and as ostentatiously detached from nearly everything as Shaw was committed. Few are likely to claim that Max at his most reasonable is as stimulating as his predecessor at his most wrong-headed and unfair, but he has a humor, a grace and a common sense of

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his own which make it very good to have these six hundred pages of his best pieces back in print again. Never able to take the theater very seriously, he could make capital of the fact in reviewing a Conrad play by writing: "The reason why the play is inferior to the story is simply that the dramatic form is, generally and essentially, inferior to the literary form. In the one . . . Hush! Am I not a drama critic?" Of Shaw as an Irishman he could say shrewdly as early as 1901: "He is not a serious man trying to be frivolous. He is a serious man who cannot help being frivolous, and in him height of spirits is combined with depth of conviction more illustriously than in any of his compatriots."

Theater

Harold Clurman

A DISCUSSION of the technical aspects of acting is not, I believe, of great interest or great value to the theatergoing public. Still it is a sign of bad times in the theater when the actor and acting are given so little serious attention as with us today. There is no point or substance to the theater without the actor.

It may astonish some to hear that we do not nowadays take acting seriously. No review is considered complete or even adequate that does not comment on the cast or, at least, mention one or two of the leading players. Quotes about the actors and the acting are used in almost every theater ad. Photographs of actors are the staple of theatrical publicity. Reviewers and public like to "rave" over favorite players.

But this is not the same as taking acting seriously. The usual tone of our talk about actors is the effusive one we employ in voicing our amazement at some incredible feat of physical prowess or the more familiar one of heated sentimentality over the blandishments of an attractive personality. If you listen closely you will soon realize in most chat about actors that nothing is actually being said.

There are many causes for this peculiar state of gushing vacuum. One of them is the gradual decline of acting as an art in the American theater. This does not mean that we have not hundreds of talented and serious young actors—perhaps more now than ever—eager to become accomplished craftsmen. But their chances of fulfilling their ambition have been greatly reduced by the haphazard and unguided nature of our theater life. Whatever the causes, the fact remains that our audiences have lost the sense of acting as a creative function and consequently diminished both their own appreciation of the theater and the actor's own feeling of responsibility to his profession.

These thoughts returned to me as I read Michael Redgrave's four lectures (delivered in 1952-53 for the Department of Drama at Bristol University) published by Theatre Arts Books under the title "The Actors' Ways and Means." What is striking about this book—on the theoretical side very sketchy and occasionally inaccurate—is the dignity, the intelligence, and the scope of reference Redgrave brings to his discussion. In America books of this sort are usually written by college professors, that is, by people who have little standing in the practical conduct of theatrical affairs. Redgrave is an eminent figure on the English stage: a list of his "credits" makes even the American star seem like either an amateur or an unemployed actor.

Perhaps more impressive than the text itself are the photographs. Look, for example, at those of Redgrave as Bolingbroke and as Richard II (he played the first in 1937, the second in 1951) on the same page. In themselves they show a remarkable range of characterization or at any rate a solid grasp of the demands of characterization.

What exemplifies the author's spirit? This: "We as actors can never rest on laurels, for if we do we are likely to be smothered by them." The economic pressure and with it the spiritual confusion which lead our actors to think of success in the most vulgar terms also make it very difficult for them to ask or honestly to answer the question Redgrave tells us the actor early in his career must put to himself—"What kind of actor do I wish to be?" Believing or hoping that most actors will answer as he himself does, Redgrave goes on to say that "he [the actor] must think in terms of the size of his ambitions, strengthen and enlarge every part of his equipment—his physical and vocal powers, his knowledge of dramatic literature, and indeed his knowledge of all the arts."

Redgrave has read, thought, investigated, studied, and, above all, worked hard. He has played contemporary and classic drama, English and foreign, in pictures and on the stage, for "fat" contracts and, over extended periods of time, for lean. This is not to praise Redgrave as an individual. He is typical of many established English actors—Gielgud, Olivier, Richardson, Guinness, Edith Evans, Sybil Thorndike, Peggy

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Ashcroft. None of them are afraid to venture, to fail, to engage themselves constantly in the widest range of profitable and "non-profitable" activity.

If this is more or less traditional in England and rare here, it is not entirely our actors' fault or even, speaking vaguely, "our theater's." It is also our—the audience's—fault. We do not follow the theater and its workers as artists, as people who are devoted to something of genuine concern to the community. The audience does not think of the actor, or for that matter the playwright, as having any goal except that of success through entertainment. The actor with us is at best only an adored mountebank.

The actor in England, by comparative standards, is regarded with something like reverence. He can flop badly without losing his prestige—as Guinness did in "Hamlet" or Redgrave in "Macbeth." He can be involved in personal scandal, and the audience will not forget that he is first of all to be esteemed as an artist. He can grow old without the audience thinking of him as "finished." He is loved; therefore he is not forgotten. The audience respects the actor because it respects itself and the theater of which it is a part. As a consequence, the actor respects the audience as well as the theater which they share. The actor respects himself because of his honored craft. He is supported and sustained as man and artist by his position in the theater—which has a position in society.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

MOZART'S String Quartet K.499, one of his finest, and K.575, which is lovely enough, are played by the Juilliard Quartet (Columbia). I had heard this group previously only in contemporary music, and was unprepared for the grace, the exquisite phrasing, the beautiful integration of its playing in these pieces. The one flaw is the violin sound; and for this Columbia's recording seems to be partly responsible: in the recent recordings of the Mennin and Imbrie quartets the sound is natural, with the dryness I recall hearing in the concert hall; in the recording of the Fine quartet it is muffled and altered; in the recordings of the Mozart quartets it is muffled and the violins are coarse and wiry.

Four of Mozart's sonatas for piano and violin—the charming K.301, impassioned K.304, lovely K.378, and powerful K.379—are played by Alice Heksch, who uses a modern reproduction of Mozart's piano, and Nap de Klijn, who uses a violin bow of Mozart's period (Epic). These are remarkably fine ensemble performances, in which the piano-playing is especially impressive in its continuing tension and force—*e. g.*, in the astonishingly slowed-down beginning of the development in the first movement of K.378.

Vanguard's recording of Prokofiev's Sonata Op. 80 for violin and piano offers the first Western European recording of David Oistrakh's playing, with the first good reproduction I have heard of his tone. Its purity and sweetness are extraordinary (it begins to be distorted near the end of the record-side); and as it happens there are the same purity and sweetness in Oistrakh's treatment of music—with power and brilliance whenever these are called for. All this, with excellent playing by the pianist Lev Oborin, adds up to a superb performance of the work. In Franck's Sonata on the reverse side Oistrakh doesn't always play with the tranquility Franck asks for, and Oborin plays quite poorly. The inferior Russian recording reproduces the violin better than the piano; but even the violin is enveloped in considerable distortion near the end of the side.

What is important about Charles Ives is not that he used this or that revolutionary technical procedure so many years before Schönberg, but what music he produced with whatever technique he used. Actually there is nothing revolutionary in the Symphony No. 2, and one hears occasional lovely

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writing, especially in the slow portions; but one hears it in a progression that rambles on, shifting from one thing to another in one tempo and another, with no integration and no cumulative effect. The work is played well by the Vienna Orchestra under F. Charles Adler (Spa).

Some songs of Ives and Revueltas are on another Spa record; but the poor singing of Jacqueline Greissle gets between them and me and makes it impossible for me to report on them.

Nor is there anything revolutionary in Artur Schnabel's early Piano Concerto; but the very individual and precise way his mind operates with traditional materials—a way that sometime reminds one of Mahler—is quite engaging, especially in the first movement. Again I am impressed by Helen Schnabel's playing with the Vienna Orchestra under Adler—the kind of phrasing that is astonishingly like her father-in-law's. As for his songs on the reverse side of the Spa record, the poor singing of Erika Francoulon, again makes it impossible for me to hear and evaluate them.

On the other hand Goffredo Petrassi's music for the ballet "Portrait of Don Quixote" is decidedly of the present day; and the way it is put together is masterly and fascinating, even though most of it is, to my ears, as though in a foreign language—the exceptions being the ironic Second Dance and atmospheric Third Dance. It is played very beautifully by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Litschauer, as is Respighi's engaging Suite No. 1 of Ancient Airs and Dances for the Lute; and the record reproduces some of the remarkably beautiful sound that Vanguard has achieved at times with its recording of the Vienna Orchestra.

Ansermet's performance of the Musorgsky-Ravel "Pictures at an Exhibition" with his Orchestre de la Suisse romande suffers occasionally from his stolidity and ponderousness, but is otherwise excellent (London; with Ravel's "La Valse").

Perhaps Handel's oratorio "Belshazzar" would impress me more than it does if it were not sung so badly by most of the soloists in the performance in which Helmut Koch conducts the Berlin Symphony and Chamber Choirs (Vanguard). The unaccompanied recitatives and a number of arias are omitted; the recorded sound is sometimes coarse; and there is distortion near the ends of record-sides.

Gino Penno exhibits a fine tenor voice which he uses with good musical taste in arias from "Norma" and "Simon Boccanegra"; but his high notes in *Di quella pira* from "Il Trovatore" (including the C's that come out as B's) are achieved with strain (London LD-9117).

Letters

Half-Truth About Pearl Harbor?

Dear Sirs: In The Truth About The Truth About Pearl Harbor in your April 17 issue David Cort writes: "A Japanese attack was expected and even hoped for," because Roosevelt and his advisers feared the possibility of world domination by the Axis powers, "leaving America alone to face an overwhelming combination of triumphant aggressors." From these premises the conclusions that Roosevelt arranged the United States warships at Pearl Harbor to be "sitting ducks" for the Japanese planes, that he did not warn Kimmel and Short in time, and the rest of the anti-Roosevelt propaganda on the subject, follow easily.

I do not think that Roosevelt and his advisers intentionally destroyed the soldiers and sailors and others who lost their lives at Pearl Harbor. If Mr. Cort also does not think so, he should say it far more clearly than he does in his ambiguous, confused article, which, as it is, might well be entitled, Half-Truth About the Truth About Pearl Harbor.

Chicago, Ill. ABRAM E. ADELMAN

Dear Sirs: If I read Mr. Cort correctly, his thesis is that the Roosevelt Administration desired the Japanese attack in order to unify Americans behind intervention in the war, and that this policy was justified—partly because Mr. Cort "loves" F. D. R., partly because the Nazis, Fascists, and Japanese were "hyenas" and if we had not fought, "democracy and the American way of life would probably have been destroyed."

This "truth" about Pearl Harbor is no more useful than is the "truth" which uses that disaster only as a stick with which to beat F. D. R. Between the "Roosevelt-haters" and the "Roosevelt-lovers" the whole pre-war period is obscured by subjective emotionalism. The same sort of emotionalism colors most of our "discussion" of foreign policy today; and public opinion is now being shaped to accept the notion that the Russians and Chinese are "hyenas" whom we must fight or "democracy and the American way of life" will probably be destroyed. In the meantime democracy and the American way of life are—in fact—being destroyed.

Mr. Cort's discourse is a compound of unproved assumptions, subjective value judgments, and a general white-or-black approach to international relations which, one would have thought, more nearly characterizes a totalitarian than a liberal viewpoint. Would not objective analysis be more useful today?

New York HELEN MEARS

Dear Sirs: Mr. Cort states that "according to the fascist version of history" President Roosevelt deliberately "plunged America into the Second World War." That is certainly a correct characterization of the fascist version of history. But then Mr. Cort writes: "What is very significant, the Communists do not contradict this fantastic assertion." That is certainly false. The Communist Party on the day of the Pearl Harbor attack denounced it as "the culminating outrage of Axis aggression aimed at the domination of the entire world." This has remained the view of the Communist Party ever since, and it is repeated in William Z. Foster's "History of the Communist Party of the United States," published in 1952.

New York HERBERT APTHEKER

Dear Sirs: It was a shock to read David Cort's Truth About the Truth About Pearl Harbor in a journal avowedly dedicated to fighting McCarthyism. Thus, all who disagree with McCarthy are Communists to McCarthy; all who disagree with Roosevelt's entry into the war are fascists to Mr. Cort . . . He labels as fascists or Communists a substantial majority of the American people in 1940, including the Quakers, Mennonites, and numerous other religious and political objectors to war. Many of these people not only objected to the war while it was being waged but still cannot find any justification for it.

Leverett, Mass. HELEN M. CONRAD

The Author Replies

The subject here is the survival of democracy, which encourages every species of eccentric opinion but must sometime, somehow, make up its majority mind on national policy. This continuing process is no more "totalitarian" than an election, but it asks a little—not very much—humility from the minority voters. Otherwise the losers would secede.

Thus it is true, but uninteresting, that

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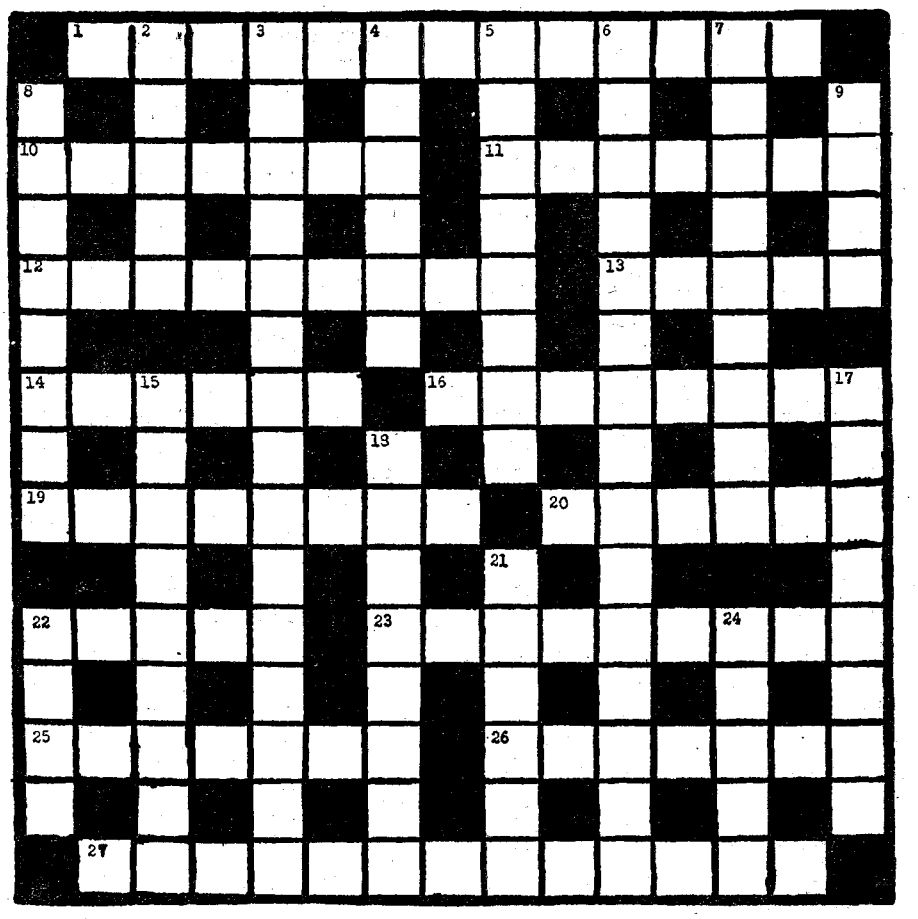
Crossword Puzzle No. 568

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Cannot burst, as with happiness and excitement. (8, 5)
10 From round to full! (7)
11 Sounds like a plural form of 21 might be strained here. (7)
12 Do they have pointed leaves? (4, 5)
13 Wild federal borders. (5)
14 The lion slain by Hercules was. (6)
16 Auditory mistakes? (8)
19 Tiny lies are a sign of the old weakness. (8)
20 See 2 down.
22 Such a house suggests one story and no heat. (5)
23 The disadvantages of a spinach ad? (9)
25 Glozes. (7)
26 He appreciates a sort of pastry better. (7)
27 Georgian, or just Olympian perhaps? (13)

DOWN

2 and 20. Keep Master Brown from being such a disturbing factor! (5-6)
3 Not exactly a finger-print with comparatively few tell-tale lines. (9, 6)
4 See 9 down.
5 Evidently one shiner looks like another. (4, 4)
6 Without charge? (The end of round must be over.) (8, 2, 10)
7 Amateur qualified, but not to make money? (3-6)
8 Fielding gave him the title. (3, 5)
9 and 4 down. And away we go! Make the one lead into it. (4, 3, 3)
15 The state of a name is not changed by it. (9)
17 Emphasized getting up from the dinner table? (8)
18 Put his act on as the head of the railroad. (8)
21 Is the purpose to be under canvas? (6)
22 Break the head of 20——at any rate, not much more than the head! (4)
24 Scrape between articles from the island. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 567

ACROSS:—6 SPAN; 10 TORNADO; 11 INHERIT; 12, 18, 24, 16, 26, 29, 9, 8 and 1 CONSIDER THE LILIES OF THE FIELD HOW THEY GROW THEY TOIL NOT NEITHER DO THEY SPIN; 13 YSAYE; 15 and 1 down OUT OF DATE; 17 INTROVERT; 19 TEAKETTLE; 21 LEAVE; 23 MINED; 24 OMISSION; 27 INTROIT; 28 INVEIGH; 30 PERSONALLY.

DOWN:—2 TURNOUT; 3 EVANS; 4 SNOWDRIFT; 5 ICIER; 7 PARTAKE; 14 CONTEMNING; 20 ANNATTO; 22 ASOCIAL; 25 SEVEN.

Readers are Invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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some "innocent" people were still talking "nonsense" in 1940 because some idée fixe—say, pacifism—was more important to them than their survival. Such frivolity may be the glory of democracy, but if it prevails, democracy will soon cease to trouble history.

Much more interesting is the question whether Roosevelt "even hoped for" a Japanese attack. He warned Kimmel that he expected one somewhere. Equally certainly, he did not expect it or hope for it at Pearl Harbor. A naval war in the far western Pacific was within United States capacities and perhaps the range of Roosevelt's hopes.

Certainly this is all subjective inference, but of a kind that history must and will make. The American note of November 26 did not force war on Japan, but it accepted the alternative of war. I myself wrote that warning a week before in a magazine that claimed to reach twenty million people. Perhaps Kimmel did not happen to notice it. DAVID CORT

New York

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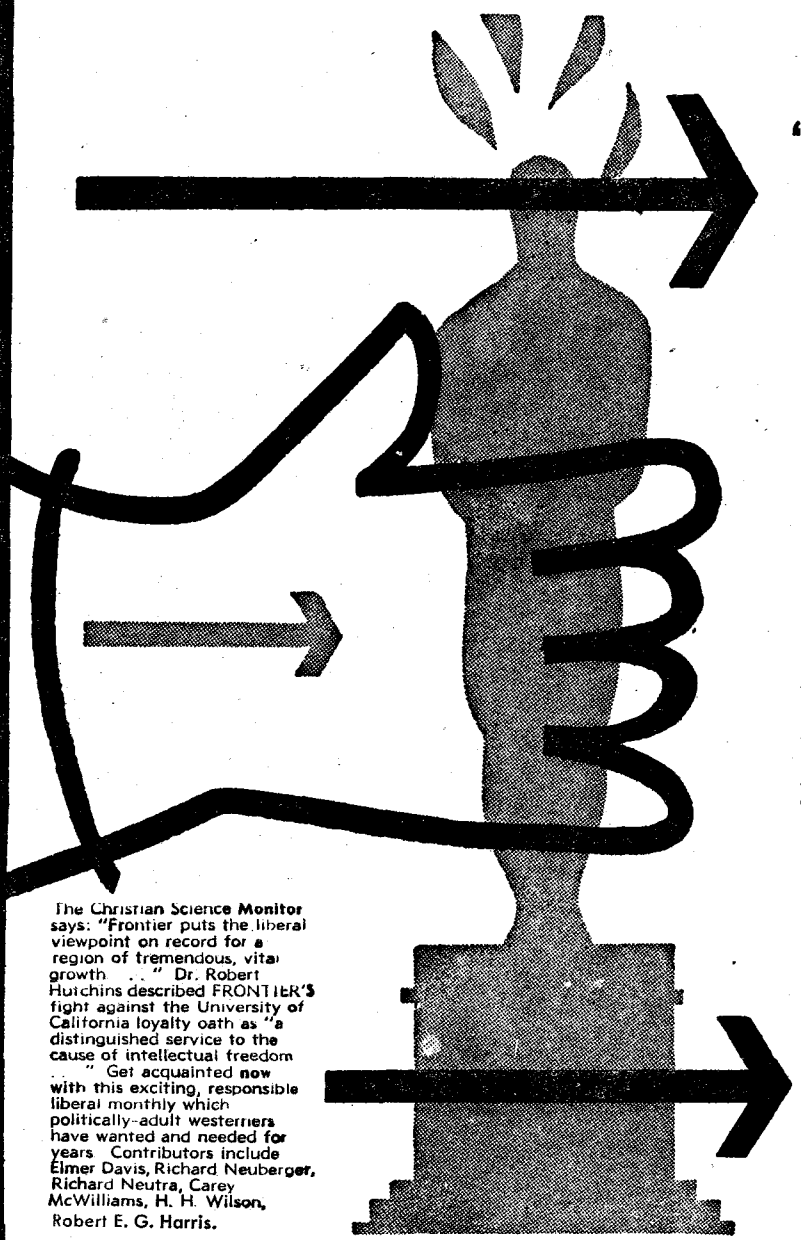

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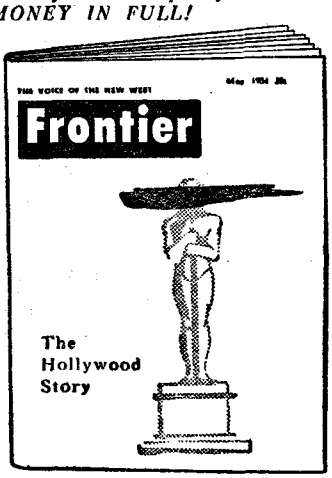

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